Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 08141 01 OF 03 140351Z

13
ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /031 W
---------- 116809
O 140245Z OCT 74
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9556

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CAIRO 8141

EXDIS

SECTO 109

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: DFOR
SUBJECT: SPEECH

1. FOLLOWING IS CURRENT DRAFT OF AL SMITH SPEECH. IT IS ESSENTIALLY PETER'S SECOND DRAFT (OCT 13) AS REWORKED BY THE SECRETARY. HE WANTS YOU TO DROP EVERYTHING MONDAY AND DO A COMPLETE REWRITE ON IT. HE RECOGNIZES IT NEEDS A LOT OF WORK AND WANTS YOU TO MAKE IT A LITTLE MORE CONCRETE. HE SAYS HE MUST RECEIVE YOUR REDRAFT IN ALGIERS, WHICH GIVES YOU ALL DAY MONDAY TO WORK ON IT.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

YOUR EMINENCE, MR. SILVER, JUDGE MCGIVERN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AND FRIENDS:

I FEEL DEEPLY HONORED TO ADDRESS THIS GATHERING. FIRST, BECAUSE I KNOW OF THE DISTINGUISHED MEN WHO HAVE BEEN INVITED TO THIS PODIUM IN YEARS PAST. SECOND, BECAUSE I KNOW AND ADMIRE THE HUMANITARIAN WORK IN NEW YORK TO WHICH THIS DINNER IS DEDICATED. AND THIRD, BECAUSE THIS OCCASION PAYS TRIBUTE TO A MAN WHO REPRESENTS AMERICAN AND HUMAN QUALITIES WHICH THIS COUNTRY, AND THE WORLD, URGENTLY NEED AT THIS MOMENT TO RECAPTURE.

AL SMITH'S AMERICA WAS AN OPTIMISTIC COUNTRY. IT HAD NO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 CAIRO 08141 01 OF 03 140351Z

DOUBT THAT IT COULD SOLVE EVERY PROBLEM IT IDENTIFIED. IT

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

WAS CONFIDENT OF ITS MORAL VALUES. IT FELT APART FROM THE
REST OF THE WORLD'S QUARRELS EVEN WHILE IT BELIEVED THAT ITS
IDEALS WERE RELEVANT TO ALL MANKIND.

AL SMITH WAS CALLED THE HAPPY WARRIOR BECAUSE HE EPITOMIZED
THE IRREPRESSIBLE SPIRIT OF HIS TIME AND OF HIS COUNTRY. HE
NEVER FEARED A BATTLE -- BUT HE NEVER LET THE BATTLE BECOME
AN END. HE WAS WITHOUT ILLUSIONS, BUT EQUALLY WITHOUT RANCOR
OR DESPAIR. HIS COMPASSION AND HIS DREAMS SUSTAINED HIM,
AND HE ALWAYS REMEMBERED THAT ALL GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS START OUT
AS VISIONS OR IDEALS.

OUR AMERICA HAS LOST SOME OF ITS INNOCENCE. WE HAVE LEARNED
OUR LIMITS AND WE NOW FACE THE TEST OF MATURITY: WHETHER IT
CAN DRAW STRENGTH FOR A NEW PERIOD OF CREATIVITY.

THE CHALLENGE COULD NOT BE MORE URGENT.

CARDINAL COOKE, IN HIS GRACIOUS LETTER OF INVITATION TO THIS
AL SMITH DINNER, ASKED THAT I SHARE WITH YOU MY "VISION OF
A BETTER AND MORE PEACEFUL WORLD." IT IS NOT A SIMPLE ASSIGN-
MENT. FOR WHAT IS PEACE? THROUGH MOST OF OUR HISTORY WE
THOUGHT OF PEACE AS A STATIC CONDITION, AS A WORLD LIVING
WITHOUT THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF CONFLICT, OF AN INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY SETTLING ALL CONFLICTS ON THE BASIS OF LAW. SECURE
BEHIND TWO OCEANS, WE LEFT TO OTHERS THE DAY-TO-DAY CALCULA-
TIONS WHICH SPELL SECURITY FOR OTHER NATIONS AND THE AGONY OF

RECONCILING THE IDEAL WITH THE PRACTICAL OR TO PUT IT MORE
PRECISELY, OF ACHIEVING THE IDEAL THROUGH A SERIES OF PRACTI-
CAL STEPS EACH OF WHICH IS BOUND TO BE IMPERFECT.

BUT TWO WORLD WARS AND A SERIES OF LOCAL CONFLICTS SINCE HAVE
TAUGHT US THAT PEACE IS A PROCESS NOT A CONDITION. WE HAVE
HAD TO REALIZE THAT IF WE ARE TO HAVE TRUE PEACE THERE WILL
BE NO END TO OUR EXERTIONS. WE HAVE HAD TO LEARN THAT WE MUST
SHOW OUR MORALITY BY OUR STEADFASTNESS IN PURSUING A SERIES
OF SOLUTIONS, EACH OF WHICH IS BOUND TO BE IMPERFECT, FOR
GOALS THAT CANNOT BE PROVED UNLESS THEY ARE PUT FORWARD. WE
ARE ON A JOURNEY THAT HAS NO TERMINAL POINT; WHOSE HOPE LIES
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PAGE 03 CAIRO 08141 01 OF 03 140351Z

IN THE ENORMITY OF THE CHALLENGE OF PEACE AND WHOSE PROMISE
IS THE FATE OF FUTURE GENERATIONS.

OUR WORLD IS A WORLD OF PLURALISM. PEACE IN OUR WORLD PARA-
DOXICALLY DEPENDS ON THE VALUES OF THE PROVINCIAL AMERICA AL
SMOTH EMBODIED. IT NEEDS A PEACE OF CONCILIATION, NOT OF ANY
GROUPS DOMINANCE. IT CALLS FOR POLITICAL ART AND WISDOM. IT
CHALLENGES OUR VISION AND CREATIVE IMAGINATION. IT IS A WORLD

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

IN WHICH THE NEEDS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE CRY OUT FOR OUR CONCERN MORE THAN EVER BEFORE -- FOR ECONOMIC SECURITY AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT, FOR SELF-RESPECT, DIGNITY, AND JUSTICE. THESE ARE OBJECTIVES TO WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS RESPONDED IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, EVEN IN THE PERIOD OF OUR POLITICAL ISOLATION. THEY ARE CONCERNS DEEPLY FELT IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STILL. FOOD AND PUBLIC HEALTH, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION -- THESE ARE FIELDS IN WHICH INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS HAVE BEEN SUSTAINED BY OUR CONTRIBUTION. THEY NOW BECOME NOT OBJECTS OF CHARITY BUT THE CEMENT OF A GLOBAL COMMUNITY.

A WORLD OF TUMULT AND CHANGE IS IN NEED OF A SELF-CONFIDENT AMERICA, AS AL SMITH EMBODIED. THERE CANNOT BE "AMERICAN" SOLUTIONS TO EVERY PROBLEM --BECAUSE THE VERY DIVERSITY OF THE WORLD IS PART OF THE NEW CONDITION WE FACE. BUT AMERICA'S MORAL LEADERSHIP, IN OUR OLDEST TRADITION, IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

WE FACE IN UNPRECEDENTED AGENDA.

WE HAVE LEARNED MUCH IN RECENT YEARS OF OUR LIMITATIONS. BUT THE STARK FACT REMAINS -- AND CONFRONTS US AGAIN -- THAT WITHOUT AMERICA'S SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION, THE WORLD'S PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY OR JUSTICE OR HUMAN BETTERMENT ARE DIM INDEED.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 08141 02 OF 03 140413Z

13
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 CAIRO 8141

EXDIS

SECTO 109

AMERICANS STILL BELIEVE THAT PROBLEMS ARE SOLUBLE IF WE BUT

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

TRY; WE STILL BELIEVE IT IS RIGHT TO SEEK TO UNDO WHAT IS WRONG WITH THE WORLD, JUST AS WE CONSTANTLY STRIVE TO RIGHT WRONGS HERE AT HOME; WE DO STILL GRASP THE EXCITEMENT OF NEW FRONTIERS INSTEAD OF RETREATING FROM THEIR CHALLENGE. WHERE ELSE IS IT POSSIBLE TO SAY: "WE SHALL BRING PEACE; WE SHALL SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF ENERGY; WE SHALL OVERCOME WORLD HUNGER" AND BE CRITICIZED NOT FOR OVERCONFIDENCE BUT FOR NOT ASKING ENOUGH.

IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, THIS NATION HAS ACHIEVED A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT OBJECTIVES IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

BY THE END OF THE 1960'S THE IMMEDIATE POST-WAR WORLD WAS COMING TO AN END. OLD NATIONS IN EUROPE AND ASIA WERE REGAINING CONFIDENCE. NEW NATIONS BY THE SCORE WERE COMING INTO BEING. THE COMMUNIST MONOLITH WAS BREAKING UP INTO BLOCS OF ITS OWN. NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONFRONTED MANKIND WITH THE THREAT OF EXTERMINATION. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE NEEDED TO SOLVE BOTH THE CRISES THAT HAD CHARACTERIZED MUCH OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD AND TO SEEK TO BUILD NEW STRUCTURES THAT REDUCED THE LIKLIHOOD OF SUCH CRISES.

WE HAVE ENDED OUR INVOLVEMENT IN A DIVISIVE WAR; WE HAVE RESOLVED THE PERENNIAL POSTWAR CRISIS OVER BERLIN; WE HAVE BRIDGED TWO DECADES OF HOSTILITY WITH THE WORLD'S MOST POPU-
CONFIDENTIAL

LOUS NATION; WE HAVE TAKEN MAJOR STEPS TO DIMINISH THE DANGER OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR AND TO CONSTRUCT A MORE DURABLE POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR MOST POERFUL ADVERSARY; WITH OUR ALLIES WE HAVE ADAPTED TO A MORE MATURE AND EQUAL RELATIONSHIP TO REFLECT A NEW ERA OF THEIR GREATER AUTOONOMY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

FOR ALL THESE HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENTS -- AND INDEED PARTLY BECAUSE OF THEM -- WE ARE NOW FACED WITH A NEW DIMENSION OF CHALLENGES, MORE PERVASIVE AND COMPLEX, WITH PERILS AT ONCE MORE SUBTLE AND MORE PROFOUND.

WE HAVE EMERGED FROM AND PERHAPS PUT BEHIND US, A POSTWAR PERIOD OF COLD WAR MILITARY AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION THAT POSED OVERWHELMING DANGERS TO OUR PEACE AND WELL-BEING. THAT STRUGGLE DIVERTED OUR ATTENTION FROM OTHER CONCERNS -- SUCH AS FOOD, ENERGY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS -- WHICH NOW COME TO THE FORE IN INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY. AND THEIR MOMENTUM TAKES ON UNPRECEDENTED URGENCY. WE HAVE EASED MANY OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE TRADITIONAL CONFLICT AMONG NATIONS. WE HAVE ESTABLISHED RULES OF RESTRAINT FOR MANY OF THE CLASHES BETWEEN REGIMES. BUT WE NOW FACE THE BIRTHPANGS OF A NEW ORDER; GLOBAL IN CHARACTER, BASED ON IN-

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

TERDEPENDENCE AND BROOKING NO DELAY. AT THE MIDWAY POINT BETWEEN THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE END OF THE CENTURY, WE ARE ALSO MIDWAY BETWEEN THE NATION STATE FROM WHICH WE CAME AND THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY WHICH WE MUST FASHION IF THERE IS TO BE PEACE.

THUS WE FACE A NEW AND FUNDAMENTAL CRISIS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM. OUR HABITS OF POLITICAL CONDUCT, OUR PRECONCEPTIONS OF IDEOLOGY, WERE FORMED IN CALMER AND MORE CONFINING TIMES. CAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES SUMMON THE WILL AND UNDERSTANDING TO RESPOND, TO MAKE SACRIFICES WHOSE NECESSITY WILL BECOME APPARENT ONLY IN THE CATACLYSM THAT FAILURE WILL SURELY PROVOKE? CAN THE BUREAUCRATIC STATE PROVIDE THE VISION AND CREATIVITY TO ACT WHEN EVERYTHING DEPENDS NOT ON ROUTINE BUT ON THE ABILITY TO TRANSCEND EXISTING PATTERNS? CAN INDEPENDENT NATIONS ACT IN CONCERT IN TIME TO AVERT A GLOBAL TIDE WHICH WILL CERTAINLY ENGULF THE VERY AUTONOMY THEY SEEK TO PRESERVE?

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SOME CALL SUCH QUESTIONS A SIGN OF PESSIMISM. ON THE CONTRARY, I CONSIDER THEM THE PREREQUISITE TO MASTERING OUR DESTINY. WE CANNOT SOLVE PROBLEMS WHOSE EXISTENCE WE DENY. THE PROBLEMS WE KNOW WE CAN FACE OR MASTER. THOSE WHOSE EXISTENCE WE DENY WILL IN TIME OVERWHELM US. THE GREATEST PESSIMISM IS TO ASSUME THAT OUR NATION IS INCAPABLE OF RESPONSE. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE PEACE OF THE WORLD IS WITHIN OUR EXERTIONS TO ACHIEVE.

WE FACE AN UNPRECEDENTED AGENDA:

--INFLATION IS A GLOBAL PHENOMENON, TEARING ALL SOCIETIES, AND FAR STRONGER IN ITS CURRENT SURGE THAN ANY NATIONAL GOVERNMENT'S POLICY CAN CONTRTL ALONE. AND THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ITS UNCHECKED ADVANCE WILL HAVE OMINOUS POLITICAL EFFECTS FOR THE
STABILITY OF ALL GOVERNMENTS. IT REQUIRES GLOBAL, COORDINATED POLICIES.

--THE ABRUPT RISE OF ENERGY COSTS, AND THE ENSUING THREATS OF MONETARY CRISIS AND ECONOMIC STAGNATION, CAN ONLY BE ADDRESSED ON A GLOBAL BASIS. THERE MUST BE SHARING AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE CONSUMER NATIONS; THERE MUST BE A DIALOGUE AND A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL LONG-TERM RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONSUMERS AND PRODUCERS; THERE MUST BE DETERMINED COMMITMENTS TO CONSERVATION AND DISCIPLINE BY NATIONAL SOCIETIES, AS PRESIDENT FORD HAS PROPOSED TO THE NATION A WEEK AGO.

--THE PLAGUE OF FAMINE AND MASS STARVATION IS AN AFFRONT TO OUR VALUES AND A MENACE TO OUR HOPES FOR A BETTER WORLD. THE

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

FOOD PROBLEM CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY GLOBAL ACTION. CARDINAL COOKE'S ELOQUENT APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE DROUGHT-RIDDEN SAHEL, WHICH HE JUST VISITED, AND THE LONG-TERM INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF ACTION WHICH THE UNITED STATES HOPES TO LAUNCH AT NEXT MONTH'S WORLD FOOD CONFERENCE IN ROME, ARE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF WHAT MUST BE A COLLECTIVE EFFORT. THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROPOSALS TO UNDERLINE ITS CONVICTION THAT ONLY AN EFFORT BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF FOOD PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, TECHNOLOGY, FOOD RESERVES AND FINANCES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 CAIRO 08141 03 OF 03 140439Z

13
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 CAIRO 8141

EXDIS

SECTO 109

--THE POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD CALL ALSO FOR A NEW SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE WORLD COMMUNITY. FESTERING LOCAL CONFLICTS POSE ULTIMATELY THE SAME THREAT TO GENERAL PEACE AS THE MORE DRAMTIC GREAT-POWER CRISES OF THE PREVIOUS PERIOD. NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE ARE A DANGER TO US ALL. THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO DO ITS PART TO CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTIONS -- IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN CYPRUS, IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS AND IN A HOST OF ONGOING BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

THE FLOURISHING OF THE POSTWAR ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS LINKED OUR FATE TOGETHER MORE THAN EVER WITH THAT OF OUR FELLOWS. YET AT SUCH A MOMENT, THE CRISIS OF ENERGY SCARCITY, RAMPANT GLOBAL INFLATION, THE VERY FRAGILITY OF THE MONETARY AND TRADING SYSTEM THAT HAS NOURISHED OUR WELLBEING FOR 30 YEARS, PUTS OUR COMMON DESTINY IN JEOPARDY. OUR ECONOMIC THEORY AND POLICY ARE REVEALED TO BE GROTESQUELY INADEQUATE. WE PURSUE NATIONAL

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

SOLUTIONS WHEN THE FUTILITY OF THIS APPROACH SHOULD BE MOST
OBVIOUS.

--POLITICAL CONFLICT, NOW MORE CONFINED TO LOCAL DIMENSIONS,
POSES NEW DANGERS PRECISELY BECAUSE OF OUR COMPLACENCY. AFTER
30 YEARS WITHOUT GENERAL WAR, THE WORLD SEEMS TOLERANT OF AC-
CELERATING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND THE PURPOSELESS QUALITA-
TIVE EXPANSION OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARSENALS. REGIONAL CON-
FLICTS, IF NOT URGENTLY RESOLVED, AGAIN TURN INTO TESTS OF
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 CAIRO 08141 03 OF 03 140439Z

STRENGTH, WITH DANGERS FAR BEYOND THEIR IMMEDIATE STAKE.

WE ARE STRANDED MIDWAY BETWEEN THE NATION-STATE AND GLOBAL COM-
MUNITY. THE ISSUE WE FACE IS IN ITS DEEPEST SENSE NOT ECO-
OOMIC OR TECHNOLOGICAL. IT IS A CHALLENGE TO OUR CONCEPTIONS,
TO OUR FORESIGHT, TO OUR VISION, TO OUR WILL AND POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP. WE ARE COMPELLED TO UNDERSTAND WHERE WE ARE -- AND
TO DECIDE WHERE WE WANT TO GO.

NATIONAL AUTONOMY OR BLOC INTEREST OFFERS NO SOLUTION. HIS-
TORICAL THEORIES AND DOGMAS LEFT OVER FROM THE 19TH CENTURY
DO NOT EVEN ADDRESS, LET ALONE RESOLVE, THE INTERNATIONAL IS-
SUES OF THE CURRENT PERIOD. THE FACT REMAINS THAT ALL NATIONS
-- EAST AND WEST AND THIRD WORLD -- ARE PART OF ONE GLOBAL
SYSTEM AND DEPENDENT UPON IT FOR THEIR PEACE, THEIR PROSPERITY
AND THEIR WELL-BEING. IF IT BREAKS DOWN, NO NATION OR BLOC
IS SPARED THE PENALTY. THE IMPERATIVE IS FOR A NEW DIMENSION
OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND A NEW COMMITMENT TO CONCERTED
ACTION.

A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY RESTS UPON US IN AMERICA.

FOR MORE THAN A DECADE, THIS NATION HAS BEEN TORN BY WAR AND
THEN CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS. WE HAVE BEEN ENERVATED BY OUR EX-
ERTIONS, AND EVEN MORE BY THE AFFLICTION OF SELF-DOUBT ABOUT
OUR WORTH OR OUR PURPOSES. TODAY THE FOUNDATION OF OUR UNITY
IS BEING RESTORED. WE OUGHT TO BE -- AND MUST BE -- NOW AT
PEACE WITH OURSELVES. WE MUST GET ON WITH THE JOB OF GATHER-
ING OURSELVES, AND ENCOURAGING OTHER NATIONS, TO ATTACK A GLOBAL
AGENDA THAT WILL NOT WAIT.

BUT WE MUST TAKE CARE THAT THE AGONY OF
THE LAST DECADE NOT
BECOME SELF-SUSTAINING. GOVERNMENT REQUIRES CONFIDENCE, THE
FUTURE CANNOT BE BUILT BY DEFENSIVENESS ASSAILED BY DISTRUST.
OUR DEBATE SHOULD FOCUS ON OUR GLOBAL AND TRANSCEND OUR MOTIVES.

THE BITTERNESS OF NATIONAL DEBATE THAT CHARACTERIZED THE RECENT

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

PERIOD MUST BE OVERCOME. OUR PROBLEMS ARE COMMON PROBLEMS. WE AS LEADERS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO DEAL OPENLY WITH YOU, AND
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ALSO A RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUNCES OF WHAT IS DONE. GOV-
ERNMENTS MUST MAKE DIFFICULT CHOICES AND JUDGEMENTS WHEN FACTS ARE NOT CLEAR, WHEN
TRENDS ARE NOT PROVABLE. WE CLAIM NO IN-
FALLIBILITY. ON THE CONTRARY, UNCERTAINTY IS THE CONDITION OF POLICY AND THE BURDEN OF DECISION. WHEN WE ASK FOR TRUST, WE AKS ONLY THAT DEBATE TAKE PLACE WITH THE SENSE THAT WE ARE ALL ENGAGED IN A COMMON ENTERPRISE. WE WELCOME DEBATE ON MERITS, NOT MOTIVES. WE ACCEPT CHALLENGES THAT ARE MADE ON SUBSTANCE, NOT SPITE.

A YEAR AGO, YOUR SPEAKER AT THIS PODIUM SAID, "MY OWN GREAT HOPE IS THAT ALL OF US MAY DO HONOR TO THE MEMORY OF ALFRED E.

SMITH BY LOVING THIS COUNTRY AS DEEPLY AS HE DID, AND BY SERVING HER AS FAITHFULLY." THAT SPEAKER WAS GERALD FORD.

LET ME SPEAK THOSE WORDS IN MY OWN NAME. NOTHING WOULD GIVE ME GREATER HAPPINESS THAN TO KNOW THAT IN THIS PERIOD AMERICA SUMMONED ITSELF AGAIN TO LEADERSHIP, TO HELP THE WORLD EMERGE FROM A TIME OF FEAR INTO A NEW ERA OF HOPE. WITH OUR OLD IDEALISM AND OUR NEW MATURITY, WE ARE GIVEN ANOTHER HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR GREATNESS.

SO WE RETURN TO OUR STARTING POINT. OUR "VISION OF A BETTER AND MORE PEACEFUL WORLD" BEGINS WITH A VISION OF OURSELVES. AND THIS TOO REMINDS US OF THE JAUNTY LITTLE MAN FROM THE SIDE-
WALKS OF NEW YORK. LET HIS CONFIDENCE INSPIRE OUR PURPOSES. LET HIS COURAGE ANIMATE OUR FAITH. AND LET US REMEMBER THAT IN OUR
SOCIETY THE NOBILITY OF MAN IS JUDGED NOT BY HIS BE-
GINNINGS BUT BY HIS ENDS. END TEXT.
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Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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EO Systematic Review
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